/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

C G 175 567 72 [266] [439] /327 cont./ they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there C G 175 556 721 727 are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed C G 175 648 721 many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of C Ce 175 101 181 648 C [361] [197] Ce [131] Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a C 175 [127] [266] 648 567 Ce 648 175 [161] more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

Ce /328 cont./
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Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down; in 1798 the Chané of the Itiyuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itáu and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

Co /329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs
648 or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of
178 its former territory: on the Itiyuro and the Parapití. Several
131 villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The
Ce Chané of the Itiyuro still number about 1,500. They all live
[162] in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have
[101] any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

Ce Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the
190 Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They
[101] speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which
C the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps
[197] so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have
Ce kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (2, p. 157)
[198] was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

Ce The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early
648 condition is still manifested in their relations with their former
186 masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain
C scorn and a protective [illegible] to which the Chané respond with
[186] open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called
C Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the
[101] Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

Ce Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agree-
192 ment to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak
167 population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

/439 cont./
p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[TEXT Continues on P. 283]

/69 cont./

174 •197 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

648 797 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or extend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19°58' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Yupanqui with a large force of men from Cuzco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

174 Someone might observe and say: Why, when the Chiriguano /70/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[171] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

• [197]

2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

/76 cont./

194 169 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 [461] The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 [931] But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

• 197 [101] By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/77 cont./

"Conumi," lad. do not have an accent on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in Guaraní.

In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, embraced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Aratico, and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

Purity of language is now no longer found in any town or in the missions, in the first because of living among whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Republic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason, instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/142 cont./

795 The Boca which I have mentioned is in a certain way similar to the purgatory of the Catholics, and in some ways similar to limbo, since the Indians state that souls which go there are in utter darkness, which is the same thing as not seeing God, and this alone constitutes great suffering. Other corporal and moral punishments do not exist there, but the darkness is perpetual (2).

2. In Boca, located southeast of Igüembe Canton, souls can be heard at night in continuous joy and bacchanalia with songs and dances. By day all is sepulchral silence, so they all say.

The Curasigñi, literally, under the sun, is for the Chiriguano the true hell, where is felt the true eternal fire which is represented by the sun, in the immediate vicinity of which it is impossible to remain, as the natural sciences, cosmology, demonstrate. According to the Chiriguano, those Indians who take the life of another, those who take other people's property, those who commit suicide, and those who commit sins contra naturam go to Curasigñi.

793 According to a famous explorer and ethnologist who not long ago passed through the region from Guachalla to the boundary which divides Bolivia from Peru in the northwest, there exists among the Chiriguano the idea or belief in the Tower of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place. According to that reference formerly there was but one language spoken, and, according to them, this was Quichua /Quechua/. The idea of creation, of the flood, of the confusion of languages, the method of counting the months by moons and the seasons by what they signify. /143/ and various Chiriguano words similar to Hebrew are powerful arguments to demonstrate the unity of the human race against the rationalists who are trying to show that there were men destroyed by the flood in America (1).

[192] [197]

1. The Chiriguano words ava, hag, húú, and mahanu?, man, be, black, and what is it?, are similar to the Hebrew av, ael, húm, and mahanu?, man or father, be, black, and what is that?

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They were the slaves of the Chiriguano and formerly lived in the immediate area of the region presently occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, from where they had to emigrate upon the arrival of the Spaniards who founded said city.

These Indians speak the Chiriguano language with slight differences in pronunciation, and they have some peculiar words, but they understand one another perfectly.

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They are completely pacified and go continually to the haciendas of the Argentine Republic; almost all of them know the Spanish language, especially the men; they dress decently and help the industrialists who have settled there and who are the owners of the land.

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In olden times the Isoseños or Tapúi were very poor and lazy, but today their condition has improved because white Christians from Santa Cruz have settled among them, to whom they lend important services in cattle raising and agriculture, but the latter is very limited because in the best season the principal region of Isoso is flooded by the continual overflowing of the Parapiti River.

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Sirácuas or Empelotos

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These human beings are called Sirácuas because they open deep holes in the ground in the form of caves with a wooden spatula and rest therein; they are called Empelotos because both the men and the women go about naked.

Z
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Rarely do they let themselves be seen and only by chance; they are few, there may be as many as 1,600; the language they speak is unknown, and so they are in a completely savage state.

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/315/ Their residence is the thickest part of the woods and at a short distance from Isoso between 19° to 20° latitude and 65° 50' to 64° 10' longitude.

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Chané SF8

Introduction.

Ee 114

In Part I of this work I sought by a new method to analyse the material culture of two Indian tribes the Choroti and Ashluslay. In the introduction to the aforesaid work I explained the method employed. In Part 2 I have sought by the same method to make an ethno-geographical analysis of the civilization of two other Indian tribes. These are the Chiriguano and Chané, who dwell in the southernmost part of Bolivia and northernmost Argentina. The Chiriguano are Guarani Indians, while the Chané are Guaranized Arawaks[1]). They thus belong to two of the most important tribal groups in all America. Their civilisation is already well known, thanks to the missionaries who have worked and still work among them. Their works are referred to in the bibliography. The most important are those by CORRADO and NINO. DEL CAMPANA wrote a monograph on the Chiriguano based on information supplied by missionaries. We also find mention of the Chiriguano in many older works. The information they give us of their manners and customs is unfortunately scanty. It is, indeed, only in LIZÁRRAGA, CHOMÉ, VIEDMA, LOZANO and one or two of the LITTERAE ANNUAE that we find any useful matter.

Ee [101] [131] [197]

e 114

SERRANO Y SANZ wrote an excellent work on the post-Columbian history of the Chiriguano. OUTES has written about their pottery. LEHMANN-NITSCHE has dealt with their physical anthropology. Works on their languages have been published by several missionaries. I visited these

[1]) Vide NORDENSKIÖLD (8).

/156 cont./

from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, andstill has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles.

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano.

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language.

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was

1.

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ñne	y	ane
Maize	sopóro	abuáti	seponi
Fire	yucu	táta	yucu
Dog	tamóco	yaúmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cángui	itico
Rat	cóvo	angüya	cono.

/2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met only in passing. I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano and the Izoseño, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the Guaraní language: the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature. On Chiriguano history we are oriented through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who have taught among them for a long time, quite important ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld, and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Entrerm and Lake Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations. I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication with the Chiriguano and Izoseño.

General Information

As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izoseño in the area around the fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

Figure 1 presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /site p.40/), are on both sides of wide street which run parallel and at right angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies. When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/ among these Indians because of the severe drought which had ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although

3/ [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

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/2 cont./

Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/. It was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Macharetí, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Macharetí together with that of the Izozó.

Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies. 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

8: Schmidt--233 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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/90 cont./

The Language

C Ce 197 I have already mentioned above that the Chané originally spoke a language different from that of the Chiriguano, but that during the long period of their captivity they adopted the latter's language. Ce 198 A cacique of the Chané of the Parapití, named Batirayu, told Nordenskiöld that some of the Chané still knew a few words of their original language and that today it had the Ce 195 nature of a secret language. .Thus there are still often employed invectives of the original Chané language, such as "karitimisóyti," which the Indians translated as equivalent to "son of a whore." Ce 533 197 Songs in the original language can also be found for example, "siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, siparakinánoye, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, tonéya," which they cannot translate, however. Ce 114 197 Nordenskiöld, with much effort and patience, was able to take down six words of the original Chané language in the town of Huirapembe on the Parapití, where a few Chané Indians who still knew their original language were said to be living. From Ce [194] the comparison of these six words with the corresponding words of the Mojo language, a great similarity was apparent; thus there can be no doubt /91/ but that the Chané originally belonged to the Aruaco /Arawak/ linguistic group (366).

366. Nord. 1, p. 157.

M C 104 197

Translation	Original Chané	Mojo (367)
Water	úne	une
Maize	sopóro	soponi
Fire	yucu	yucu
Dog	tamúco	tamucu
Good	liqui	itico
Mouse	cóvo	cozo

Ce M [113]

367. According to Father Pedro Marban, Arte de la lengua Moxa con su vocabulario y cathecismo /Art of the Mojo Language with its Vocabulary and Catechism/. Republished by Julio Platzmann, facsimile edition, Leipzig, 1894.